Christian Community

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Where Christianity and Economics Meet

By A. Dudley Ward

During the past half century our ways of life and work have undergone a vast alteration. This change has been accomplished without violence and without great apparent upset, but the tempo of its pace has been truly revolutionary. Certainly if people whose span of life was in the nineteenth century could see what we see in everyday life they would hardly accept any word but revolution for the process that has brought it about.

This accelerated change has made clear to all thoughtful people that we need a careful and realistic investigation of economic life and a reappraisal of its relation to spiritual and moral values.

Rockefeller Grant

Accordingly, as a beginning of such an investigation, a three-year research study was commenced in 1949 under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

In particular the study is centered around the idea that the average decision maker needs a better understanding of his own ethical problems and the cultural situation in which he operates. He needs guidance as he tries to be ethical in his decisions, or when he knows that whatever his decision someone may be hurt and he is likely to be misunderstood by some people.

The participants in the study are influenced deeply by a recognition of the ethical dilemmas and cultural conflicts which modern man faces. Reinhold Niebuhr in his conclusion to the first volume of the published results of the study points up this awareness:

"The frantic pursuit of the immediate goals of life is partly occasioned by an uneasy awareness that this pursuit has not resulted in its promised happiness and by a consequent final and desperate effort to reach the elusive goal of happiness by a more consistent application of principles of efficiency."

The study is sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America through its Department of the Church and Economic Life. It is being carried out by a research staff operating under the general supervision of the Department, and with the co-operation of a study committee headed by Charles P. Taft and comprised of interested leaders from various occupational backgrounds. Some thirty-five scholars, representing a variety of disciplines, are, or have been, actively engaged in preparing the several studies. Professor Howard R. Bowen, of Williams College, is the general consultant.

Six Volume Series

There will be six volumes in the series of reports to be published by Harper & Brothers. Three of these have been delivered to the publisher. The first volume will be off the press this month.

Goals of Economic Life is a study that brings together fifteen people who have thought seriously about the ethical problems in modern society and bring to the volume long experience which equips them to make a penetrating analysis of the kind of world we are living in today. In order to give the analysis a scope that is not usually found in such a work we have brought together an anthropologist, a psychologist, and a biologist, to cooperate with the social scientists and economists in an examination of the problems.

Among the questions raised by the latter are such problems as the place of economic progress in modern life, the political responsibilities of individuals today, the relationship of the state to the decisions of individuals and economic groups, and the place of the economists' technical apparatus in making ethical values operative in economic affairs. Finally, the philosopher and the theologian examine man in his modern predicament from a Christian point of view to see what help and direction can be given to him.

The American Economy and the Lives of People is a study based upon three techniques of data-collecting: public-opinion polling, clinical analysis, and group discussions. From this work we are obtaining some most interesting data about the ambitions and problems of the American people. We know, for example, that the two big issues for most Americans—which are hot politically—are housing and medical care, including the loss of earnings through ill health or injury.

We have indications that many of the problems industrial sociologists and psychologists have been writing about (monotony, routine work, and status) are not the really important concerns of workers. Our findings do indicate that monetary return is the important consideration to working people in America, whether owners, employees, or professional people.

Our data agree with other research in indicating that the nation seems to be quite satisfied with the trends of social progress and is not likely to turn its back on these steps which have been taken during the past twenty years. An important observation is that there appears to be little consciousness of goals other than the purely materialistic.

The Social Responsibilties of Businessmen is concerned with the problems that business management face as they contemplate their responsibilities of citizenship in the modern community. It is based upon the assumption that there are certain things which the community can expect rightfully of businessmen and that there are certain things which the community should not expect and which business is not able to do.

The study elaborates upon the specific issues businessmen face in reference to distribution of profits, wages, pricing, advertising, and the relationship of business to other groups in the economy.

It is amply supported by material from the speeches, reports, polls, statements, and declarations of people in top business management. It is in no sense of the word a preachment. It deals realistically with many specific proposals which might enable business to do a better job in interpreting itself and exercising its rights and duties in the community. An ethical critique will consider this study.

The Organizational Revolution: A Study in the Ethics of Economic Organization deals with some of the pressure groups that have grown in modern industrial society. It is a highly colorful document, and it raises many issues—more than anything else that we know of in the field—regarding the ethical problems created by the large economic groups of the present day. In the analysis, the economic apparatus of supply and demand has been applied to the problems of developing a theory of organization. The supply side represents the increased availability of managerial and organizational skill, and the demand side represents the rising demand for these abilities and skills in the face of expanding productivity and consumption.

A section of discussion by the author and some of the twenty-five critics who have reviewed the book is particularly stimulating. The differences are wide. A typical one finds its best expression in the following quotation from the author, Kenneth Boulding, as he evaluates his relationship with Reinhold Niebuhr, who writes the ethical critique of the volume.

"I may perhaps sum up the difference a little ruthlessly by saying that Professor Niebuhr is afraid of freedom, seeing always behind it the specter of anarchy, whereas I am afraid of justice, seeing always behind it the specter of tyranny."

Standard of Living, Distribution of Income, and Consumption is a penetrating study in these three fields. The major ideas of this volume are related to one of the most striking aspects of the twentieth century—technology. It is here to stay. We must use it to the full but not for the purely materialistic aims that seem to have characterized so largely our individual and national policies in the past. If we are to avoid going down the blind alley of pure materialism, it appears necessary for us to take more seriously than we have the Christian doctrine of sharing. This not only will give us an outlet for our tremendous productive capacity but will permit us to participate in the task of helping masses of the world's people to obtain essential freedom and justice.

One section will deal with the changing patterns of consumption in modern America, with particular reference to minimal standards and the way in which these standards are being met. A study of the American family indicates how radically the character of some of our basic institutions has changed. How can we care for dependents in the modern family and society? Is it true that America assumes that the two-income family is a perfectly good and logical pattern? Is the modern husband and father satisfied to submerge his native instinct for domination of the family scene in an effort to supply, with aid of his wife's income, the modern gadgets which are now an important part of family life?

These are a few of the questions discussed. There are statistics on broken families which seem to indicate that despite the rising divorce rate the percentage of families broken from all causes and the number of children in such families have actually decreased. The ethical problems raised by this study are manifold and will be discussed in a concluding critique.

Christian Ethics and Economic Life will present in a wider perspective the central issues of the studies just described, especially from the point of view of the meaning of American responsibility in the world scene. The Christian standards that relate to both the domestic and the international issue raised are to be discussed and evaluated. A final section will deal with the strategy of the Protestant churches as they bite into these problems in their own life and work.

Under an additional grant from the Rockefeller Foundation the studies are being continued on two main levels: one, further investigation of the attitudes of people toward the American economic system and the relationship of the system to Christian values; and, secondly, the field of social responsibilities, particularly those of labor leaders, farmers, professional people, and the Government.

The ultimate purpose of the study is to provide a foundation for responsible individual and social action and for educational work in Christian ethics and economics in the seminaries, the universities, lay groups, and the churches in America.

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CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Additional copies may be obtained for 2 cents each. Requests from Congregational Christians should be addressed to Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. Requests by Evangelical and Reformed, and others, as well as news items and communications, should be addressed to the Editor, Huber F. Klemme, Commission on Christian Social Action, 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland 13, Ohio.

The Reverend A. Dudley Ward is Director of Studies, Department of Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches. For additional information about this project write to this Department at 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

A New Program for Christian Citizenship

How can a Christian citizen make his opinion count in Congress? By studying bills and legislation when these are being prepared and by registering his convictions with his Congressman and Senators, and with his church agency for social action. In the coming session of Congress the Council for Social Action will render a new service of information on major issues in Washington and, in turn, welcome the advice and recommendations of church members individually and in groups. Here's the plan.

The CSA Christian Citizenship Committee will send to an individual or a church group a packet of materials on forthcoming legislation. The packet will contain the pros and cons of the bill, an outline for group discussion of the subject, and a reply form check list for evaluative replies. Information on appropriate action of other kinds will be included. The three or four packets will be prepared and distributed by Francis W. McPeek, Acting Secretary of Christian Citizenship. There will be no charge for the materials but those who request them are morally obliged to study the packet and reply to the committee promptly. Failure to reply may cease the service.

Groups and individuals should send their name and address at once, requesting enrollment in "The Christian Citizenship Program," to Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

International Relations Letter

November 1, 1952

You might like to know what the C.S.A. International Relations Committee is working on just now. The whole of the November meeting will be given to a discussion of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. The National Council of Churches believes that some parts of this legislation are inconsistent with Christian positions. Since the Act was featured in the national election campaign, it seems certain that it will be debated in the next congress. The C.S.A. hopes to be of some help to the members of our churches and to government in deciding whether, and in what respects, the legislation should be changed.

In December we shall have before us a proposed statement on land reform, in preparation for almost a year. We are not, of course, dealing with agricultural policies in this country, but in the underdeveloped areas where it is one of the most critical questions. Land reform in India or Iran may seem far removed from the interests of the average American, but, like so many other "remote" problems, it is about as remote as the front door. It isn't too much to say that if in China there had been, among other things, an adequate program of land reform American boys might not now be fighting in Korea. One doesn't need to be an expert to figure that one out.

Do You Hear Criticisms?

It isn't easy to tell how much impression is being made by certain organizations and persons who are campaigning to get us out of the U.N., discredit UNESCO and put a "socialistic" brand on the proposed Covenant of Human Rights. My experience is that many church people have either never heard of the current criticisms or are totally unimpressed by them. Are there vocal critics in your community? Have you heard someone say that the U. N. Charter "supercedes" the U. S. Constitution, that "UNESCO condemns patriotism," that the Human Rights Covenant would diminish the rights of Americans? Such statements must be answered with facts, not merely with denials. So:

We Are Ready To Help

The C.S.A. International Relations Department has been gathering materials on these three subjects—pro and con. Three packets of materials are ready: one on UNESCO, one on Human Rights, and one on the U.N. Since we don't want to send out just a random piece or two and since we had to buy some of it, there will be a charge of fifty cents for each packet, or one dollar for the three. We think we can promise that with these materials you can get a good idea of what is being said against these three organizations and what can be said in answer. The anti campaign *could* become fairly serious.

Telling the U. S. Story

What is the U. S. doing to tell its story abroad and to counter misinformation sent out by the Soviets? Here are a few of the items: "The Voice of America" broadcasts in 45 languages on a round-the-clock schedule, for a daily total of 50 program hours to a potential overseas audience of 300 million persons. The International Press Service provides a daily wireless bulletin to 10,000 foreign newspapers in 88 countries. Last year it distributed 200 million pamphlets prepared in the U. S. or overseas to fit specific groups in specific areas. The U. S. maintains 195 Information Centers in 62 countries, providing information on all aspects of American life. (I have seen two of these centers and they really are used.) Through the exchange-of-persons program, thousands of persons come to the U. S. each year to gain first-hand knowledge of this country. In 1951 the government sponsored 7,300 educational exchange grants. In the same year some 500 private organizations brought several thousand foreign persons to the U. S. for visits: educators, students, labor and business leaders, government and professional men. Source of above information: Department of State "Foreign Policy Briefs," Vol. II, No. 7.

Washington Seminar

Dates for the annual Interdenominational Churchmen's Washington Seminar are February 24 to 27. By that time the new Congress should be organized and Christian citizens will be eager for a look-in on legislative processes and prospects.

Since each denomination is limited in its representation, for information write at once to your denominational social action office.

Point IV Marches On

In October a 12-man Burmese technical mission was in Washington conferring on ways U. S. technical advice and financial assistance can support that war-ravaged country's economic program. In 1952 about 24 million dollars was made available to Burma by Point IV. Which reminds me—are you one of those who has not yet seen that excellent little booklet, "Point IV Pioneers?" It carries the dramatic stories of three Point IV people and is excellent material for use in meetings of all kinds. Write to me for a copy.

Sixty-seven at Seminar

The sixth World Order and United Nations Seminar, held in New York, October 20-22, was one of the best yet. The 67 people came from 10 states, including California! From the lively discussions, under the leadership of excellent speakers, to the memorable visit to the U.N. General Assembly and the tour of the U.N. buildings, the group seemed to be having a great time. The next New York Seminar will be in October, 1953.

What About Your Church?

Last month's issue of *Christian Community* carried an announcement of a Point IV Essay Contest, for high school and college students, sponsored by the National Council of Churches. Why not push the contest in your church? The theme is "The U. S. and the Underdeveloped Areas." Only essays of 1000 words or less will qualify. Contest ends March 31. Cash prizes total $1800. Essays submitted by young people in your church could be used as a basis for a fine meeting. For full information, write to Point IV Essay Contest, National Council of Churches, 79 East Adams Street, Chicago 3.

What Can Our Church Do?

If you are in a university town you can get in touch with the foreign students' advisor and invite foreign students to your homes. (There are some in every university and it helps them to get into good American homes.) You can set up a one or two-day conference on international relations. The C.S.A. international relations secretary will be glad to help you with the program. You can plan a church-wide program of education on India, or UNESCO, or the U.N., or Africa, or Point IV. We'll send, or recommend materials. You can send a delegation or a letter to your congressman, telling him what you think. You can help make American leadership more acceptable abroad by working for better race relations in your community. There's something *every* church can do. If you have done something interesting, write to tell us about it.

Herman F. Reissig

Can the Congress of the United States Be Unshackled?

By Galen R. Weaver

The Senate of the United States is now operating under the most restrictive rules it has ever had. The present requirement for closing debate, namely, approval by two-thirds of all 96 Senators, makes it impossible to enact any civil rights legislation. The rules must be changed. As far back as March 4, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson said,

> The Senate has no rules by which debate can be limited or brought to an end . . . The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action . . . The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate be altered so that it can act . . .

On March 5, 1917 President Wilson called the Senate into special session for the sole purpose of considering an amendment to its rules. Such a rule for ending debate (after reasonable opportunity for all Senators to be heard) was adopted, 76 to 3. *Two-thirds of those present and voting* could invoke 'cloture,' that is, close debate. However, even this proved in practice to be a very difficult roadblock to action on controversial measures. In 1925, Vice President Dawes called for an amendment to require only a majority vote but his proposal was defeated.

In 1948 Senator Vandenberg, then presiding officer of the Senate, said:

> ". . . in the final analysis the Senate has no effective cloture rule at all . . . a small but determined minority can always prevent a cloture, under the existing rules . . . (which) still leave the Senate, rightly or wrongly, at the mercy of unlimited debate ad infinitum."

Procedural questions, such as a resolution to amend the rules, or to bring up a bill for debate, are subject to no cloture rules. Vice President Barkley's ruling in 1949 that the cloture rule did apply to such procedural questions was voted down 46 to 41. Then the Senate proceeded to make still more certain that bills displeasing to a small minority can be talked to death. The Senate adopted the Hayden (D)-Wherry (R) amendment in 1949. The change required that, to close debate, *two-thirds of all ninety-six Senators* (64) must vote for it even though no Senator votes against it. Moreover the Hayden-Wherry amendment explicitly stated that cloture cannot be applied at all on a motion to change the rules. *This is why civil rights measures have no chance whatever of being considered and voted on their merits. They will continue to be talked to death until a way can be found to change the cloture rule—Senate Rule XXII.*

The Democratic Party platform 1952 declares:

> "We urge that action be taken . . . so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a majority in either house." (Note that in the House of Representatives bills may be bottled up by majority vote of the House Rules Committee).

The Republican Platform ignores the problem although it is known by all well-informed people that Senate Rule XXII is the nub of the difficulty in getting civil rights bills passed.

How can this be changed? There are several ways: let the filibusterers wear themselves out; a very strict enforcement of the rules of procedure may hasten this painful process; and, by majority vote, rule out the use of extraneous material (printed at public expense of over $80 a page in the Congressional Record!); the President might call a special session of the Senate alone to act on this matter. In such cases a majority vote would suffice to change the rules. Another possibility has been pointed out by Mr. Walter Reuther who argues that in each new Congress, the Senate is a new body capable of adopting its own rules of procedure. Hence a motion for the adoption of rules could be brought. When that motion is challenged the presiding officer could then rule it in order. A simple majority would be all that is required to sustain this ruling (or upset it). If sustained the Senate could proceed to adopt any rules it chooses—by majority vote.

Those citizens who want to see the stalemate of Rule XXII broken should write to both Senators well before the 83rd Congress opens in January 1953, expressing their opinions and giving a reasoned argument against the filibuster. Write similarly to the newly elected Vice President who will be presiding over the new Senate.

Two documents may be usefully consulted for more details:

1. "Rule 22—An unconstitutional roadblock to democratic legislation" from Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Michigan; and

2. N.C.R.A.C. Legislative Information Bulletin, No. 14 from National Community Relations Advisory Council, 9 E. 38th St., New York 16, N. Y.

1953 European Seminar

Dr. and Mrs. Ray Gibbons, leaders of the 1953 European Seminar sponsored by the Council for Social Action, announce the itinerary for the study of economic, political and religious problems in seven countries of Western Europe. The tour is designed for speakers, writers, teachers and others who have opportunity to use the experience in their church work.

The Itinerary (Tentative)

New York, June 23-25—Period of orientation. Flight from Idlewild Airport to London, England.

England, June 26-July 6—Conferences with leaders in government, church, labor. Visits to Parliament, housing projects, health clinics. Two days in industrial Manchester. One day each in Stratford-on-Avon and Cambridge.

Belgium, July 6-7—Boat to Osten. See lace-making in Bruges.

Germany, July 7-16—Talks with labor and management in the Ruhr, government officials in Bonn. A trip on the Rhine, visits in East and West Berlin, and refugee housing in Frankfurt.

France, July 16-25—Five days in Paris. Talks with the major political party leaders. Catholic and Protestant clergy. Visits to Versailles, Louvre, and Chambon Sur Lignon. Overnight in Nice and motor trip on French and Italian Riviera.

Italy, July 25-August 2—In Rome, conferences on population, industrial and religious issues, with trips to St. Peters, Vatican, and catacombs. In Naples, Congregational Christian Service Mission, Pompeii, Amalfi, and Sorrento. Gondola ride in Venice and a day in Trieste.

Yugoslavia, August 2-5—Talks with government officials and important sightseeing.

Italy, August 5-6—A day in the industrial center of Milan.

Switzerland, August 6-10—Visits at the World Council of Churches, the League of Nations palace. One day motor trip into the Alps.

France, August 10-12—Return to Paris and flight to New York.

The cost of the complete tour will be $1,250. Persons interested should write immediately to Dr. Ray Gibbons, 289 Fourth Ave., New York, New York.